1: Meek E, G-5 (1925-1930) 1931
FF38 Katab FF38

direct with Zaria.) The Makama of Zaria was the Kauru "intermediary" (*kofa*), and the Galadiman Makama used to accompany the chief of Kauru on his annual visit to Zangon Katab, when tribute, in the form of slaves, was collected town by town. The Katab were not always, however, under control and would, on occasion, unite to drive the chief of Kauru out of Zangon Katab and pillage the Hausa inhabitants. Occurrences such as this were exceptional, for it was admitted that normally all Katab who committed serious offences were sent to Kauru to be sold into slavery. Thus one guilty of murder or burglary was dispatched to Kauru. He might be ransomed by his relatives, but as the ransom for a murderer was four slaves, the relatives seldom exercised the privilege. Minor offences could be dealt with locally. A small theft committed by a fellow clansman would be dealt with privately, the thief receiving a thrashing and being made to restore the stolen property. Or he might be haled before the sub-clan chief and elders (the elders generally acquiescing in the decision of the chief). The thief would be made to restore the stolen property and be mulcted in a fine, two-thirds of which would go to the complainant, the remaining one-third being divided among the chief and elders. An adulterer would also be haled before the chief and fined; but if he was a fellow clansman the injured husband would say nothing beyond abusing his wife. Disputes as to the paternity of children were determined by the administration of sass-wood to chickens representing the contending parties. Those charged with witchcraft were required to drink the sass-wood personally; but the permission of the sub-clan head had to be obtained before trials by ordeal could be held. Owing to the custom of contracting sub-marriages, disputes as to the paternity of children were, and still are, of daily occurrence. The complainant (the prior husband) went with the elders of his town to the town of his former wife's parents. The new husband also appeared, accompanied by his elders, and the matter was threshed out before the seniors of all three villages, the protagonists being the woman and her former husband. If the matter could not be decided the late husband and the new husband each produced a chicken and sass-wood was administered. The case was decided in favour of the man whose chicken survived.

This question of the contraction of sub-marriages and the

2: Gunn E-4 (no date) 1956 FF38 Katab FF38
KAje

when the deceased *gado* is said to return to the *abwai* hut: beer drinking and dancing take place on alternate days; every spirit voice is heard, and two masked dancers, also described by Reynolds as "dodone," both mute, appear—one, *kusak* (Hausa, *kajinjiri*), who dances with the women of the community, and the other, *daniet*, who parades about at night in a ponderous leaf-covered frame of bamboo. During this entire period, male clothing is restricted to a plaited raphia penis-sheath. Though it has been suggested that neck-cords or *iswandik* are intended to remind women of their marital obligations, and serve to restrain them from contracting new secondary marriages, and though, as has been noted, sexual relations between a man and his brothers' wives is a ritual offence, Reynolds is still of the opinion that *aswa* is a period of sexual licence in the community. At the end of the period of celebration, each wife in the village gives the gathering of cult members a final pot of beer, around the neck of which her *iswandik* is fastened.[122]

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Religious Beliefs and Practices

The general character of indigenous Kaje religion will be apparent in the above account of rituals and other practices associated with the life cycle. Few additional details are available, and these add little to the picture.

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When the rains are overdue, the elders of the clan or tribal section meet at the local "rain 'tsafi' place," where the *atiyinhwap* performs a rain-making rite. Failure of this rite in past times brought a league of *atiyinhwap* of Banewhan, Batadon, and Baimbin to "inform" the *atiyinhwap* of Baiduan, who would perform similar rites on behalf of the whole tribe. For a number of years, however, only the *atiyinhwap* of Baimbin has persisted in carrying out these rites.

Acha-sowing rites, too, have fallen into disuse, apparently, except among Baimbin. If a trial sowing of mixed seed of the *atiyinhwap* sprouts satisfactorily, general sowing commences immediately; if not, *atiyinhwap* solicits offerings, presides over a feast of elders, and finally prays over the ground.

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Acha harvest rites, however, are still commonly practised throughout Kaje, according to Reynolds. These begin much like the rain rites, with the *atiyinhwap* spreading acha paste on the stone at the "rain-shrine": from the rain-shrine, however, he retires to his compound, where he applies paste to the huts, to the floor and walls of his own hut, and finally to his bed. Similar rites are performed in every compound early the next morning, when the compound head selects "a sensible youth who would first spread the paste on an old hoe and then on the grave of his grandfather." Thereafter, huts and cornbins are treated, the nearest cross-roads, and the waterhole; and the head of the compound is given paste to eat, and calls on God and his ancestors to bless them. The youth then eats some of the paste and divides the remainder between members of the compound. Only when these rites are performed can the new acha be used in the regular way as food.

The sanctions against murder, violence between groups or even within the minimal lineage and incest, are traditionally of a supernatural sort, and such crimes might be expunged by ritual purifications: for example, a murderer was expelled to Kagoma, where he served the senior ritual head there as a slave, in effect, for a year; he then retired to Kurmin Bi, where the senior Kaje *atiyinhwap* performed a rite readmitting him to the general Kaje community; he then underwent further rituals in his own village.[123]

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Theft and protracted debt were punished by fines; but the offended and offender were alike subject to oaths and ordeals credited with supernatural sanctions: these were administered by the priests and some are done still.

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[122] On the basis of available materials it is impossible to comment on the apparent discrepancy between Meek's and Reynolds' accounts: Meek understood that this or a nearly identical celebration was recurrent at two- or three-year intervals; cf. Katab, farther above.

[123] Rape and adultery appear to have been left up to the offended party to deal with: the death of the offender ended the matter.

3: Temple G-4 (no date)1922 FF38 Katab FF38
Kagoro

and head-hunting, and no man of the tribe is fully accredited until he has taken a human head; that of a monkey, hartebeeste, or one or two kinds of bok are accepted as a substitute.

Slaves were treated as members of the family, whether they were captured in war or given for four years' service in payment of a debt. The former only were liable to be sold. The average prices given were, for an old woman, 8,000 cowries = 4s.; for an old man, 10,000 cowries = 5s.; for a virgin, 16,000 cowries = 8s.; for a young man, 20,000 cowries = 10s., prices which compare unfavourably with those which horses would command, *i.e.*, 100,000 cowries = 50s., or even bulls, 20,000 cowries = 10s.

It is the duty of the Elders to settle boundaries, but an interloper is only punished, divinely, by failure of crops. Private quarrels are settled by vendetta, and the only crimes for which communal punishment is meted out are those against religion. These are punished by stoning to death—black magic by choking. The high priest, or "Meakwap," is in fact more powerful than the Chief, and it is he who regulates and administers trial by ordeal. It takes the form of a calabash of poison; the innocent vomits and is saved, the guilty dies.

The ordinary form of oath is for a man to hold ashes, or corn, in his hand, and pray either that if he lies he may become as white as the ashes, or be killed by the next corn he eats. They say that in old times they were not so wicked, and observed many laws.

The Kagoro have no theory as to the origin of man, but they have heard of a great flood.

They believe that all souls survive and become ghosts, but that they may be re-born in the body of a descendant, male or female, when they live once more as ordinary mortals. The ghosts are thought to inhabit the sacred groves and hills, that they have no houses, but retain their voice and appearance, and ride, hunt, and fight as of old. They are always hungry and thirsty, and their descendants offer them food and drink, for neglect would be followed by punishment. They are constantly consulted, particularly about war and hunting, by the Elders, who spend three days in the sacred grove, when quantities of gia is drunk.

They are also propitiated when a compound is built on fresh ground. The father of the family first chooses the site and places stones where the granaries are to be, the blood of a fowl is then spilt and leaves of the "nok" tree (for luck), are buried on the chosen spot. The big men come and gia is poured over the site three times, and three incantations are made to invoke the aid of the ancestors and of those dead who might be buried in the vicinity. A drinking bout follows. Likewise when land is first farmed an offering of gia is made and when the corn is

3:Temple G-4 (no date)1922 FF38 Katab FF38
Kaje

698 175 Their first acquaintance with the Filane was when some settlers of that race came to their country at Kachicharri and paid certain irregular tribute of cattle to the Kaje.

At the outbreak of the Jihad, however, they were invaded by the Filane who came and settled near Mount Daroro. The Kaje decided to wipe them all out, but the plot was betrayed by the Filane concubine of Sarkin Indema and her compatriots escaped. She, herself, suffered condign punishment, being thrown into a hole which was filled up with stones and she was thus buried alive.

When the Filane settled at Jemaa in the same neighbourhood, the Kaje again tried to turn them out, circ. 1812 A.D., but were ultimately defeated—some of them fled into Zaria Province, and the main body to Sanga, south-east of Jemaa.

The Kaje were situated on both sides of the Zaria-Nassarawa boundary when the Filane Emir of Zaria, Abdul Karimi, circ. 1835 A.D., sent a force against them at their principal town of Kurmin Bi, to exact tribute. An arrangement was come to, but circ. 1849 Mohman Sani, then Emir of Zaria, led a punitive expedition against them and told the southern section to follow the Sarkin Jemaa, since which time they have had no recognised tribal Chief. In 1858 they were again recalcitrant and Audu, Emir of Zaria, finally broke them. Since 1870 the Jemaa Kaje have been ruled, nominally at least, by Jekada from Jemaa, and in 1912 they were induced to acknowledge the practical suzerainty of the Sarkin Jemaa and accepted, as District head, Liman Umoru, a Filane of Jemaa.

621 In old days each village was governed by a council of Elders and an hereditary village Chief. This office was, however, usually vacated after a few years, the Chief nominating the most capable member of his family to be his successor and himself 423 retiring to a seat on the council. An office bearer called Tagama [698] (Magajin Mutua) judged all disputes and apportioned farm-lands, 427 to which the occupant and his heirs had exclusive right so long as the land was cultivated. It was not uncommon, however, for the occupant to lease his land, practically as a matter of goodwill, for he only received a pot of beer, which lease was terminable by either party after the dawa harvest; no woman [562] might hold land.

674 There was a regular system of punishment of crime, but ●681 there were only three legal offences: Theft from a storehouse, murder and adultery. The two latter were alike punishable by death or by banishment.

685 A thief's family paid a horse to the village head, who was the judge in all judicial affairs.

682 A murderer was expelled from the village for two years; he was sent first to Kurmin Bi, thence to Sakwot, thence to Fadan Kagoma, where he worked on the Kogoma farms. He